/269/

131 Of the two centers of Bororo habitation situated, one to the
361 northwest of Cuiabá and the other east-southeast of the same city,
[648] the second today is made up of three groups of native villages:
[799] those of the middle and upper São Lourenço, provided with residents of the Service de Protection des Indiens /Indian Protection Service/, those of the Garças River, in the diamantiferous region, supervised by the Salesian missions, and lastly the three aldées /villages/ of Kejara, Pobori, and Jarudori on the Río Vermelho, a tributary on the left bank of the upper São Lourenço, which have been less directly affected by religious and administrative
101 influences. We stayed in the most important of them, the Kejara
132 aldeia, during Janauary-February, 1936, at the time when the
648 rainy season completely isolates the natives from the rare contacts which they are able to have at other times of the year with the Brazilian population; besides, the latter, never very numerous, some time ago completely evacuated the region, where material
563 and sanitary conditions seem particularly unfavorable. Aside from two telegraph operators, only a few families of fishermen, leprous for the most part, live only on the banks of the rivers.

361 Kejara aldeia occupies a wide, partly natural clearing on the left bank of the Río Vermelho right on the riverbank and is bound on the south, west, and east by red sandstone escarpments.
241 Native gardens—manioc, maize, and rice—extend for several
137 hundred meters all around the village, closely mingled with the forest or brushwood which is beginning to come up again. Across
231 them, as across the village, freely wander some hens and ducks,
177 presents of the Protection Service, which live today in a half-
[223] wild state and /270/ have to be shot with the bow to be caught.
621 In January-February, 1936, Kejara aldeia comprised, in addition to the "men's house," 27 houses, /each/ inhabited for the most
621 part by several families. The total population, impossible to
162 evaluate in a precise fashion—part of the village is constantly
[221] away, some fishing, some hunting, and some either visiting or on a mission to other native villages, amounted to approximately 140 people, the number of women being less than that of men,

/270 cont./

621 and the children under 15 years of age certainly not exceeding
162 ten, only two or three of them being younger. The physical type
142 seems well preserved; the number of handsome and healthy individuals—especially among the men—were in the large majority
[141] (Pl. VII, A-B, A /see p. 45 /: Tŏnkŏd'daᵘ, around 25 years old; 1.723 meters tall; horizontal cephalic index: 84.65). The diseases which rage in the region—yellow fever and smallpox—are
164 those which eliminate rather than impair. Many natives bear traces of the last, however. A leper was living in the village.
[732] Along with a blind man, he represented the only infirmities.

191 Only one native, an escapee from the missions, spoke fluent Portuguese, which it seems he had formerly been able to read and write. Five or six understood it but had a vocabulary of only a few words at their disposal. The others did not know the language at all.

Structure of the Village

616 [illegible]a aldeia is divided into two exogamous phratries, named
614 respectively Tugare and Čera. The meaning of these terms was
[621] never specifically stated to us; only once, in connection with clan Ki, which means tapir, it was mentioned to us that all the Čera are tapirs. Each of these phratries is divided into several clans (1)

1. The term vŏbe, which we translate this way, means precisely "group of relatives."

or groups of clans, a list of which follows:

Tugare phratry:
Paiwe (Hedgehog) clan
Ārŏre (Catepillar) clan
Ewåguddu (Buriti) clan
Apibore clan.

/271/

616 Čera Phratry:
614 Bādejaba (Chief) clan
O Čera (Čera of the Ibis) clan
Ki (Tapir) clan
Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge (Big-Armadillo-Red-Arara-Gilthead) clan
Bakoro clan
Bóro (Pendant of the lower lip) clan

Beside these clan divisions properly so called one finds a certain number of distinctions of different character (Note I, p. 37).

361 The morphological structure of the village directly indicates
● 621 the social organization. The houses are distributed around a big
345 circle, the approximate center of which is occupied by the men's house (baite-mannanage°); the latter is built on a north-south axis.
621 A line west-southwest and east-northeast, very oblique in relation
616 to this axis, divides the village into two practically equal halves:
614 the southeastern part comprises the Tugare houses; the northwestern part is formed by the Čera houses. The diameter of the circle having been set a little too short for the number of houses, one house belonging to the Ki clan has been pushed slightly behind the alignment (Pl. VIII, A /see p. 46/): in the foreground the O Čera čębegeʷõ hut partly hiding a Ki hut. In the background, from left to right, the Ki kujagoreõ, Bokodori čębegeʷõ, and Bokodori-Kōge baiaddadaʷ huts). Numerous native sources state that in the past this situation was normal and that the village was composed of several concentric circles, the houses belonging to the same clan being located approximately one behind the other.

621 The layout of the village thus expresses the social structure.
616 But it also expresses its geographical position. A second axis, very
614 oblique in relation to the preceding one and perpendicular to the
823 course of the river, in turn divides the village into two halves, the Čãbōgeʷõge, i.e., "the upstream ones," and the Čębegeʷõge, or "downstream ones." Each of these halves evidently includes houses belonging to both phratries. And the spatial distribution of the clans in the interior of each hemicycle causes three of them to

/271 cont./

621 be found also divided into two groups according to their position
616 in relation to the river. Thus we have: /272/
614
823 Ẻwa̰guddudõge ɛ̨̌ebege^{wo}õge: those of the downstream Buriti
Ẻwa̰guddudõge ɛ̨̌̄bõge^{wo}õge: those of the upstream Buriti
Āróre ɛ̨̌ebege^{wo}õge: those of the downstream Caterpillar
Āróre ɛ̨̌̄bõge^{wo}õge: those of the upstream Caterpillar
Bokodori ɛ̨̌ebege^{wo}õge: those of the downstream Big-Armadillo
Bokodori ɛ̨̌̄bõge^{wo}õge: those of the upstream Big-Armadillo

In contrast, the Paiwe, Bakoro, and Bóro clans are entirely upstream; the Ki, O, Bādejeba, and Apibore clans are entirely downstream.

552 The two houses which respectively face the two doors of the
592 men's house and through which the diameter dividing upstream and
[823] downstream passes have a special name, which expresses their
[345] special position. Their inhabitants are called Baiăddadaɛ̨̌ge, i.e., "those who look at the house" (Fig. 15, Nos. 4 and 17 /see p. 6 /). It should be noted that the door of the men's house
[345] which faces the Tugare half is called Čera, whereas the one facing
[591] the Čera half is called Tugare, marriage being matrilocal (Pl. IX, A /see p. 47/).

Over and above these spatial determinations the natives also use others, according to enumerative order, importance, or familial relations. Certain houses are called Bo'pokẹje^{wo}õge, "the last ones" (literally: Bo', people; pokẹje, again; wo, there; -ge, plural). Thus we have Bādejeba bo'pokẹje^{wo}o (Fig. 15, No. 12), the special name of the last house of the Čera phratry, and Ẻwa̰guddudõge bo'pokẹje^{wo}õge (Fig. 15, No. 16).

A household can also receive a special name according to the particular importance of the grouping or construction. Hence House 15 is called, perhaps because of its remarkable form, Ẻwa̰guddudõge kurigeŏ, "those of the big Buriti."

[614] Finally, when the distribution of clan members in different houses corresponds to a systematic distribution of relatives of one family, each house is designated by its familial character.

/272 cont./

552 Thus we have (Fig. 15, No. 17 /see p. 6 /) Ewâguddudõge
592 eten'manaãge: those of the Elder Brothers of the Buriti, and (18)
614 Ewâguddudõge etu'ieemage: those of the Younger Brothers of the Buriti.

614 It is also possible that the adoption or division of emblems among the members of the same clan results in the creation of other secondary determinants. /273/ Several clans are divided in this manner into two subclans distinguished respectively by the colors red and black. Thus:

Apibore ǰoreǰ: black (23)
Apibore kujagoreǰ: red (22)
Paiwe ǰoreǰ (25)
Paiwe kujagoreǰ (26)
Ewâguddu ǰoreǰ (15).
Ewâguddu kujagoreǰ (18).

/Figure 15 appears here./ /274/

Some groups of clans perhaps came from a single clan, as they seem to share emblems: the Bóro acquired an object associated with the legendary history of the Bakoro clan, of which they were no doubt formerly a part, in the same way as the O J̌era, themselves also inheritors of a legendary animal of the clan. The Bokodori clan is subdivided into Kõge (gilthead) and J̌iba (red arara); but it is not clear whether this is truly a question of subdivisions of a main clan or of a homogeneous clan designating itself by three emblems: "Bokodori and Kõge, Bokodori and J̌iba," the natives say, "it's the same thing."

621 The number of terms used for the definition of the groups is
552 thus clearly more important than the number of houses of the
592 village. The result of this is, first, that different informants do not always designate the same houses by using the same adjectives; the same informant varies equally according to the time and the circumstances. In the second place, each house, or almost each, is found to have, if not always its own name, at least a set combination of the names of the clan, of the position, of the family, etc., which belong /sic/ to it alone. The Bororo village

[Text Continues on p. 7]

/273 cont./

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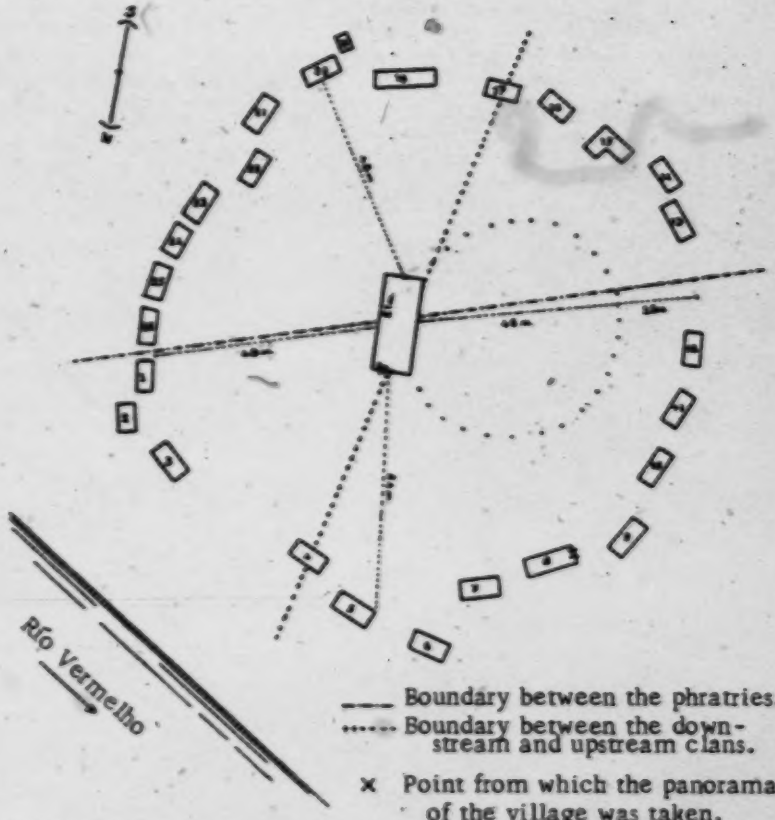
Rio Vermelho
Boundary between the phratries.
Boundary between the down-stream and upstream clans.
Point from which the panorama of the village was taken.

Fig. 15.—Plan of Kejara aldeia. Above the boundary between the phratries: the Tugare; below it, the Čera. The Čaböge$^{\omega}$öge are on the left (upstream) and the Čębege$^{\omega}$öge on the right (downstream) of the axis which separates them; in the middle, the Baiaddade$^{\pi}$ge.

/274 cont./ The Bororo Village

621 552 592 614 616 is thus composed above all of an ensemble of households, that is, of families or groups of families, living in the same house and styled under this relationship alone. The denomination of the household always involves, among other things, the name of the clan; sometimes it involves the name of the phratry, as is most frequently the case with the Čera. Here is a type list of the households of Kejara aldeia as we were able to make up on the basis of information gathered from our different informants, or from the same one on different occasions (Fig. 15 /see p. 6/).

Čera Phratry:

(čãbõge^{w}õ half)
1. Bóro Čera
2. Bakoro Čera-Nogujeba
3. Čiba Čera-Bokodori čãbõge^{w}õ
4. Kõge Čera-Bokodori baiaddada^{w}

(čębege^{w}õ half)
5. Bokodori Čera čębege^{w}õ
6. Ki kujagoreõ
7. Ki
8. O Čera čębege^{w}õ
9. O Čera
10. Bãdejeba čębege^{w}õ
11. Bãdejeba čębegeõ baiaddadawõ (1)

[128]

1. We are allowing this significant anomaly, which expresses the disagreement of two informants as to the position of the diameter of the baiaddada^{w}ge (11-20, and 4-17 /see Fig. 15/), to stand.

12. Bãdejeba čębege^{w}õ bo'pokęje^{w}õ

/275/

Tugare Phratry:

13. Ārórę ǩębegeʷõ
14. Ārórę čębegeʷõ
15. Ęwåguddu ǩereð kurigeð ǩębegeʷõ
16. Ęwåguddu bo'pokęjeʷõ čębegeʷõ
17. Ęwåguddu baiaddadaᵃ eten'manaãge
18. Ęwåguddu kujagoreð etu'ieemage ǩåbõgeʷõ (cåbõgeʷõ half)
19. unoccupied shelter
20. Ārórę ǩåbõgeʷõ baiaddadaᵃ (1)

[128]

1. Cf. Footnote 1, p. 7.

21. Ārórę ǩåbõgeʷõ
22. Apibore kujagoreð
23. Apibore ǩoreð
24. Apibore
25. Paiwe ǩoreð
26. Paiwe kujagoreð

Houses belonging to the same clan are placed side by side, with the exception of those of the Ārórę clan, which is separated into two groups by the Ęwåguddu clan.

Connections with the Economic Organization

It is difficult to ascertain whether the influence of the natives' contact with civilized people (2) have greatly modified their

2. We are using this term exclusively to designate the Indian Protection Service. Actually, it would be absolutely impossible to understand the relative stability of the material culture of the Bororo

571 /301 cont./
614 the beams frequent in most of the other habitations. It is perhaps possible to interpret this apparent contradiction.

614 According to the Salesian missionaries (1) who have been in
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622
[115] constant contact with the Bororo of the Garças River for about 30
[117] years, the Ẍera phratry comprised, at the time of their arrival in the region, seven clans, two of which were Bādejeba—one Bādejeba Ẍo̊bogeʷō or Akario Bokodori, and the other Bādejeba Ẍębegeʷō or Bakorokuddu. These two clans occupied the two ends of the Ẍera hemicycle, and each gave a chief who governed the village in collaboration with his colleague. The Bādejeba Ẍębegeʷō, however, held a pre-eminent place.

1. Colbacchini, op. cit.

571 Whether it be that the social organization on the Río Vermelho
614 (on which we have no information) has always been different, or
616 that political revolutions have taken place in the course of the
621 last years, the Kejara situation has only a distant resemblance to that described before. As we have seen, the division into Ẍębegeʷōge and Ẍo̊bōgeʷōge is made in relation to the direction of the river, whereas on the Garças River it is explained, it appears, by a difference in ground level. But /302/ above all, if one accepts Colbacchini's description as historically and locally exact, two big differences must be noted: the disappearance of the Bādejebage Bokodori, and the fragmentation and partial change of place of the Bādejebage Bakororo.

Without our asking, our informants, when describing the distribution of clans in the village, pointed out to us the site of the ᵃKario Bokodori clan (Fig. 15 /see p. 6/, between No. 2 and No. 3, or between No. 3 and 4). This clan became extinct at a relatively recent date, since there were still objects bearing its mark in circulation in the village. Before or after this disappearance, a profound change seems to have taken place among the Bādejebage Bakorokuddu. A group of families, among them that of the principal chief, undoubtedly moved toward the upstream

/302 cont./

571 side, thereby occupying the site which had become free of the
614 Bādejebage Čabōgeʷōge. The existence, the name, and the
616 localization of the Bakoro and Bóro clans are thereby explained.
621 While the term Bādejeba may never be used to designate them,
[634] we shall not hesitate to go on with the identification for three reasons: the Bakoro clan is that of Tušawa, the chief of the Bororo; the name, Bakoro, is a contraction of Bakororo, the original name of the clan; and lastly, the epithet Bóro commemorates an event marking the existence of the Bakororo hero, the inventor of the lip pendant and of all the other ornaments. But the Bādejebage Bakororo clan has not been moved in its entirety. One part, the most important numerically, has remained in place; however, the process of fragmentation has overtaken it also. To the northeast of the Bādejebage Čębegeʷōge, are, in fact, the two O Čera huts; and we have given proof of the origin of the Bādejeba Čębegeʷō from this clan.

Everything thus occurs as if—after an unknown event, perhaps the extinction of the upstream Chiefs—the clan of the downstream Chiefs had been cut into three parts. One first group of families, itself subdivided into Bakoro and Bóro, seems to have come to occupy the site of the extinct clan; when separating from its clan of origin it appears to have carried away with it the essential prerogative, to wit: providing the principal chief, who has become the only chief.

The rest of the clan, continuing to occupy the western end of the Čera hemicycle, seems to have divided also. One group of families appears to have formed its own clan around the Ibis emblem, the animal famous in the annals of the clan. The remaining families seem to have kept the traditional name and site.

If this hypothesis is correct, it must be admitted that the two secessionist groups have divided up the privileges of the clan. By this is understood that the Bakoro-Bóro on the one hand and the O Čera on the other own /304/ numerous ornaments, whereas the Bādejebage Čębegeʷōge found themselves completely stripped.

/304 cont./

571 For this reason the natives picture them (and they are, in fact)
614 as very poor. For example, one informant said to us, "they only
616 have one type of bow...." This also explains the fact that
●621 Tuš̌awa should have "recently" moved his house outside the village
[634] to the other bank of the river, his clan being cut into three sections,
and that at the same time he should have kept property rights to
an O Č̌era house (his bed is always there). Another reason tends
[592] to show that these changes are recent: the four houses of the
Bādejeba Č̌ębegeʷõ clan were only occupied by some old men,
while the new clans, Bakoro, Bóro, and O, comprised many
[825] younger members. The natives indicated the crocodile, con-
[973] sidered in folklore as the animal of old people, as the eponym
of the Bādejebage Č̌ębegeʷõge.

127
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Bibliography (1)

1. We have limited this work (with the exception of the two notes) to the exposition of material assembled in the field. For a more complete study the works and articles cited here can be consulted.

080 /The bibliography has been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text, pp. 303-304./

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

The moieties have reciprocal

duties; e. g., after a death a member of the moiety complementary to the deceased person's moiety must kill an animal in the ensuing hunt, and after a dance the performers are washed by men of the opposite moiety. At Kejara only the Chera had the right to make bull-roarers.

Colbacchini (1925) ascribes seven clans to each moiety; Lévi-Strauss (1936) found six in the Chera, four in the Tugare. Both authors connect the clans with animal and plant species, and at times the linkage is multiple; e. g., a single Kejara clan is associated with the armadillo, the red macaw, and the dourado. It is not clear to what extent such plurality implies distinct subdivisions or whether a homogeneous clan unit is related to the several species in question.

The association does not necessarily involve a totemic name. This, e. g., is lacking in the baaddegaba clan despite its connection with the jaguar, a fish, and a bird. Since in all cases the linked species are freely killed and eaten, Lévi-Strauss (1936) regards the term "totemism" as inapplicable. According to him, a clan ancestor would receive a revelation from a spirit, whose embodiment in such and such a material guise would create the existing bond with a species and might inaugurate a corresponding appellation for the descendents.

As explained under Houses and Villages (p. 420), a secondary dichotomy characterizes the Vermelho River people; an axis perpendicular to the course of the river creates an Upstream and a Downstream half. This division leaves some of the clans intact, but splits up others into an Upstream and a Downstream section.

The clans have specific prerogatives, whence spring notable differences in wealth. Ceremonial bows, arrows, lip pins, and the pennants on penis sheaths bear designs distinctive of particular clans. Again, clans own personal names, dances (pl. 88), and songs. Certain clans contracted preferential marriages with others, apparently on the basis of personal names.

In the Rio das Garças district each village has two chiefs representing the mythical twins, Bakororo and Itubori, of whom the former takes precedence. Both are of the Weak moiety, but belong to distinct clans or subclans associated with the jaguar. Tradition has it that anciently both were of the Strong moiety. In accordance with the matrilineal system, succession is nepotic.

The chiefs are very influential, but lack coercive authority. They announce in the evening what is to be done on the following day, give marching orders, determine the location of clan huts in the settlement, lead in war, receive messengers, conduct various rites, and generally maintain old usage. But the individual tribesmen retain complete personal freedom, checked only by the vivid fear of disapproval. Even murder, instead of being punished, merely evokes a feud.

In the Vermelho district the several villages are under one paramount chief who enjoys greater power, but this may be due to Neo-

and ornaments or just chatting.

361 The village layout is a reflection of the Bororo social structure. The Bororo point around the village circle with their fingers to show the place of important social groups. It is not necessary that these social groups actually be present in a village; the ideal village plan is in Bororo minds.

The villages are always situated near rivers. In the part of Mato Grosso where the Bororo live, rivers flow from east to west, and the villages are oriented so that the east-
61 west axis divides them into two halves. The Echerae moiety occupies the southern half, the Tugarege moiety occupies the northern. Each moiety consists of four clans, each clan of two subclans, and each subclan of many lineages. A lineage consists of people who are matrilineal descendants of an ancestor and carry the same family name, which is the ancestor's personal name. A clan is an aggregate of lineages said by the Bororo to be related as matrilineal descendants of
[553] brothers. By the act of naming, each brother transmitted his status and prerogatives to a different nephew (sister's son) and thus established a new lineage. Clans and subclans are characterized by their ornaments, songs, tools, animals, and plants. Though the moiety is not supposed to originate from a common ancestor, the relationships among lineages within the moiety are treated as if their common ancestors had been broth-
62 ers. In a village it is desirable for the important lineages
61 to be represented so that the village can properly carry out

its ceremonial obligations. It is felt that each clan should have its own house, but if the number of people in the clan is too large, additional houses can be built.

Preferential marriage between particular lineages is supported by myths. Marriages are all contracted between the two moieties except for two cases within the Echerae moiety. Otherwise marriages within the same moiety are frowned on. Marriage does not establish an alliance between two groups. Rather, marriage is the result of an alliance which was established by other means in the mythical past.

All important events in a person's life, such as naming, initiation, and death, are marked by songs and ceremonies. The ceremonies on the occasion of death are particularly long and elaborare. Traditional songs, each of which belongs to a particular clan, are in a poetic language not understood by many contemporary Bororo.

Today the old ways of life are disappearing. Hunting and gathering have become fruitless in a changed and impoverished environment and have been almost completely given up. Many ceremonies are not held anymore. For lack of material, ornaments are not made according to the old standards. The colorful birds, the jaguars, and the other animals of the forest are gone. Yet the Bororo remain a proud people. They are proud of their heritage and often point out that all over western Mato Grosso potsherds and annatto plants planted by their ancestors attest the extent of their territory and the number of villages that existed in the past. They compare

Chapter IX

LINEAGE, CLAN AND MOIETY

613 The Bororo conceive of lineage as consisting of those persons who are matrilineal descendants of an ancestor. The ancestor's name, the lineage name, and the name of a member 614 of a lineage are the same. A clan is an aggregate of lineages said to be related as matrilineal descendants of brothers. [604] By the act of naming, each brother transmitted his status and prerogatives to a different nephew (sister's son) [613] and thus established a new lineage. Other lineages also may have been founded by outsiders accepted into the clan. Each clan has a name and is divided into two subclans. Clans and subclans are characterized by their ornaments, songs, tools, 616 animals, and plants. Although the moiety is not supposed to originate from a common ancestor, the relationships among lineages within it are treated as if the common ancestors had 621 been brothers. If a village is to function properly in the 613 ceremonies, all the important lineages should be represented.

Lineages

613 In the subclan of Black Kiye three lineages are the most important: Ki Bakororo, Badajeba Kudoro, and Jakorari. The importance of the different lineages is measured by mythical deeds of their ancestors and by related functions that the

614 Bakororo, chief of the village of the dead situated on the
773 west, is the older brother of Itubore, who is chief of the
[769] village of the dead on the East. Then the Tugarege gave their prerogatives to the Echerae. Baitogogo gave all of his possessions to Bakorokudi; Boroge gave his to Akaruyo Bokodori.

614 This is not the only evidence that the Badajebage
796 Chebegiwuge should be considered as the older brothers and the Badajebage Chobugiwuge as the younger ones. Most of the ceremonial performances given to them divided them in the same way. The Ivagududoge gave tugo choreu or imedu (the black or male arrow) to the Badajebage Chebegiwuge, and tugo kujaqureu or aredu (the red or female arrow) to the Badajebage
[825] Chobugiwuge. The Araroe gave bakuquma choreu (the black falcon) to the Chebegiwuge, and the white falcon to the Chobugi-
[825] wuge. The Apiborege gave aroe echeba choreu (the black harpy eagle) to the Badajebage Chebegiwuge, aroe echeba tororeu (the white harpy eagle) to the Badajebage Chobugiwuge, and similarly they gave parabara eimejera (the chief of the wild tree-ducks) to the Chebegiwuge and parabara onaregedu (the young wild tree-duck) to the Chobugiwuge. There are several exceptions to this pattern, but the Bororo again feel com-
614 pelled to explain them by some particular circumstances. We
621 paid more attention to these two clans because Bakorokudu
181 and Akaruoy Bokodori are entitled to give orders for different communal activities. Bakorokudu gives orders for ceremonies, songs, and the feast of the spirits. Akaruyo Bokodori

gives orders for a communal hunt or fishing. The first one commands activities to be performed in the men's house or on the village plaza; the second one commands activities performed outside of the village. The first commands ceremonial, sacred activities; the second commands economic, profane activities. Here again we find a homologous relationship between older brother and male ancestor and younger brother and female ancestor expressed through the opposition between center and periphery; activities within the village and activities outside the village; the village and the forest; the men's house in the center of the village, as the place for making ornaments and performing ceremonies, and the women's houses around it, as the place where everyday life is carried on.

When they talk about the communal hunt, the Bororo say that in the past the headmen went with the hunters, but they themselves did not hunt; they only prevented their subjects from quarreling with each other; they kept order and peace and saw to it that the hunt went smoothly. In the village plaza and in the men's house, the leaders' place is in the center; the commoners sit around them. In addition to commanding the hunt, Akaruyo Bokodori is associated with war and killing. From stories and songs he is known as killer of many Bororo. Bakorokudu, on the other hand, is the peacemaker, a trait which he inherited from Baitogogo. Baitogogo is famous not only for his wisdom, but also for his mercy toward enemies. There are many stories about Baitogogo sav-

Aroe are not bound to any particular time of day, but all the ceremonies are performed during the day. Even in the middle of the jungle the Bororo like to think about themselves as being in the center of the village. The village is their center of orientation, the center of the social universe, with clans and lineages around it in their determined places. Wherever he may be, a Bororo always sees himself as if he were on the plaza. He carries it within himself. In the jungle, too, he will point directions in reference to this social arrangement: this is in the direction of Itubore; this is in the direction of Paiwoe Chobugiwuge, this is in the direction of Paiwoe Chebegiwuge, and so on. Every human being is the center of the village, the center of the world.

2. Human vs. animal; asexual vs. sexual

The first village was ariqao bororo, the dogs' village. It was cleared for the dogs; then, according to another myth, the Ivagududoge saw it and enlarged it because it was too small for all the clans that came there, one after another. Dogs and Bororo are blended together. The Ivagududoge barked, and in this way they attracted other dogs (clans) to come. The first "human" village was Echera Bororo. The Badajebage, who first saw Echera Bororo, are not mixed with animals; they are human beings.

The distinction between human and animal, and assexuality and sexuality, is one of the basic distinctions between Aroe and Bope. Aroe have human shapes and are covered with colorful ornaments and feathers. Aroe live in an

/115 cont./

162 Sangradouro to there; they told of having come at the in-
166 vitation of Padre César, who for eight years had been director
797 of Sangradouro and was transferred to Poxoreu in 1933. The Salesian house, which has existed there since 1932, is administered by a padre and a lay brother; it is, however, only visited by these Bororo when they want to ask for alms or for protection against their white neighbors. The 20 other Bororo of Poxoreu came from the aldeias controlled by the Commissão de Proteção aos Indios.

657 Four of these aldeias are located in the forest of the region
131 of the Rio Vermelho, therefore more or less at 16° 30' south
[167] latitude and between 54° and 55° west longitude; and there is another one about 20 leagues to the southwest. According to a statement by an official of the Commissão de Proteção aos Indios, Snr. João Arena, these five aldeias had about 500 inhabitants in 1933.

621 Between Rondonopolis and Lageado, a prospectors' settle-
162 ment that arose there around 1920 at 16° 20' south latitude
[131] and 53° 50' west longitude and numbering today more than
[103] 2,000 inhabitants, is still found a similar Bororo aldeia named Tori-paru (tori means in Bororo: stone, hill, and paru: underneath, at the foot of; therefore, the name of the aldeia means: at the foot of the hill). It is said that the village has existed since 1929, having had 50 inhabitants in 1933. On the thirty-first day of March of 1935 I counted 35 men in the men's house. Some men were absent, hunting. The total number of the inhabitants who lived in the six houses of the aldeia was, including women and children, more than 100.
[241] They live off plantings of manioc, rice, beans, and /116/
[464] papaya /Port. mamão, fruit from a tree called mamoeira/,
[13] and, in part, by working on the neighboring plantations. Tori-paru is located about two leagues west of Lageado.

177 The Bororo of these six aldeias are in contact with the
[189] Brazilians, but for the most part are less influenced by our civilization than the Indians of Sangradouro and Meruri, although many of the present inhabitants of the aldeias were previously in these missions.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

which was hanging on a tree, and some large, black ants that sting worse than a hornet, planted their stings into the joints of my fingers. Altogether, I felt as if I were on fire. But near morning, we got a little respite from the mosquitoes, for a fog settled down over the forest. As soon as the sun appeared above the horizon, the "day gangs" of our little tormentors renewed the attack.

All during the second day we continued to carve our way through the tangled vegetation, and to drag ourselves along, arriving at our destination at nightfall, exhausted, and nearly in tatters. To increase our discomfiture, we were short of food, for our cook had neglected to bring along any beef other than the potful he had boiled just before we begun our journey. Therefore, we had to eat sparingly; and to fry the whole potful again and again, each time we dined, to keep it from spoiling.

We were a freak to the primitive citizens of the Kogi au Paro village, many of whom having never before seen a *braidi*—white man. The women and children, especially, came out of their huts, and standing at the entrances, like prairie-dogs on their hillocks, gazed intently at us with fear and curiosity.

This village had swarmed some time previous to our visit, and was now two villages. The new brood occupied open ground near the river, but the mother horde lived in the wildest locality that I have ever seen human beings dwell in. To reach it, we had to cross the river Pogúbu, which was between one and two hundred yards wide, with a strong, flood-like current. Having nothing with which to ferry ourselves over, we had to plunge in and swim, towing our baggage over, assisted by two Bororó, on a rude float made by binding together three bunches of bamboo rods. There was but one spot on the opposite side of the river where we could get ashore, owing to the impenetrable masses of bushes and trees that lined the edge of the water and reached far out into it. To allow for the current, and to avoid striking below this particular spot, we had to work up at the edge of the river

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

to war, they must choose one as their leader; or one becomes such by mutual consent. We gave the Kogi au Paro chief some presents, which seemed to please him much, and he returned the favor, bringing us some vegetables.

Next morning, soon after daybreak, and after the singing of the *bakororó*, which is sung at dawn in this village as well as at dusk, the men of the village gradually assembled in the great hut, and sitting cross-legged on their mats, occupied themselves in various ways. Several worked at making bows and arrows, cordage and nets; a few shook out raw fibre preparatory to rolling it on their knees into threads; one or two spun cotton, rolling it between the palms of the hands, then winding it on a rude, wooden spindle; one man wove, or crochetted, a narrow cotton belt by means of a peculiar little contrivance made by binding together two small reeds; another made a kind of bead by boring holes through shell or stone discs and making them uniform in diameter by stringing them tightly together and passing a sort of whet-stone over them as they were held firmly upon a block. The holes were bored through the discs by revolving rapidly between the palms of the hands, a stone-pointed instrument, like a large lead-pencil. The Bororó kindle a fire in much the same manner, revolving a pointed wooden rod as it rests upon a certain kind of wood. Various other articles were in process of manufacture in this primitive workshop. A few men who were not occupied, lay stretched full length on their palm-leaf mats, dozing, or occasionally exchanging a few words with one another in voices that were partly mumbling speech, and partly like the purring of a cat. The Bororó artificer works very slowly, for nearly two entire days are consumed in the making of a single arrow, which, however, is made with almost infinite care. But time is of no value to these people.

The Sheraidi and the Ta Nagareda divisions, into which the Kogi au Paro village, in common with all other Bororó encampments is divided, sat in separate groups, each occupying one-half the great hut. These two divisions hunt, fish, play

345 /451 cont./
especially the hunting songs and the dances and laments in case
[562] of death, and consultations. The women had free access and, as we shall see, were sometimes dragged there by force.

361 The huts were everywhere pushed close to the edge of the
514 forest. Numerous narrow paths led into it; privies of even the most primitive kind did not exist in the houses any more than in Cuyabá; and just as in the city one went into the garden, so in the
339 colony one sought the woods. Upstream lay the so-called brick-
241 yard, where loam was fetched and a kiln had been built but never used, and, in a clearing, the little that was planted was to be
231 found. As for animals, one saw only a few dogs and chickens among the soldiers and a few red araras among the Indians. There were also a few black carrion vultures always hovering about in the vicinity. The cattle to be slaughtered were caught by vaqueanos outside on the campo, where they lived in complete freedom. The mules were also allowed to roam and were sought out if one needed them or if one wanted to check them.

162 There were about 50 Brazilians in the colony, along with the
621 wives of the soldiers; only a few were lighter than the Bororó and many were darker. I estimated the number of Bororó present at some 200 with wives and children. A group was away on a hunting expedition, however, and Duarte had taken about 20 along to Cuyabá. A generous figure for the total number would be 350, officially 450. In the beginning there were said to have been considerably more -- Eliseo said over 1000 at one time. As a matter of fact, Clemente also said that the Bororó from all
[114] the villages had put in an appearance. Thus we see that the approximately "10,000" spoken of in Cuyabá is not in any case conceivable.

179 European clothing. The first impression that we had of the
291 Bororó was essentially different from that of the decent and industrious Schingú Indians. Not so much with respect to the lack of clothing. /452/ Chief Moguyokuri, to be sure, paraded about mostly in his shirt, seldom in trousers, and only the rowdy Chief Arateba regularly wore shirt and trousers. They liked to wrap themselves in their sleeping blankets on a colder day or toward

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Bororo Sp8

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR HABITAT

131 The Umotina, who call themselves the Balorié,
[10] are settled today in the Indian Post of Fraterni-
dade Indigena near Barra do Bugre on the Para-
guay River west of Cuiabá. Before coming to the
Post they occupied a village at Tira Santida just
[197 below Tres Barras. The Umotina, who today
161] number about 65, are related linguistically to the
184] Bororo who live directly to the east of them. In
two respects, at least, they differ sharply from
142 their neighbors—they have a pure Hawaiian-type
kinship system and are pronouncedly dolichoce-
phalic. The local Brazilians call them the Bar-
bados, owing to their beardedness.

361 In the old days the village (*muktmo*) was built
●621 on the bank of a river and consisted of two rows of
342 houses separated by a narrow plaza. The house
(*ishipá*) was rectangular with a gabled roof coming
down to the ground, the whole being covered with
pacova palm fronds except the two ends which
were left open. This house type is the same as that
formerly found among the Guató who live to the
south of the Umotina. Each family had its own
house, the occupants sleeping on mats spread on
[374] the ground. The husband kept a fire going all
night not only for warmth but also to drive away
the mosquitoes.

291 In the past men wore no clothes but after
puberty used a penis sheath (*bakyotókwa*) made
from a buriti palm leaf. The foreskin was pulled
over the glans, and the leaf was wound around it
[834] and fastened with twine, the purpose being to hide
the end of the penis from the women. Men
302 wore their hair long, tied in a knot at the
back of their heads, and allowed their beards to
grow; but eyebrows, eyelashes, and pubic hair
[304] were plucked out. The lobes of the ears and the
lower lip were pierced. Women, on the other hand,
cut their hair short, and plucked out their eye-
brows and eyelashes but not their pubic hair.
291 Women wore a knee-length skirt (*imetá*) made
304 from woven cotton. Like the men, the women
had their ear lobes pierced.

[p. 106 (B)]